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ABSTRACT

As part of a larger sociolinguistic study investigating the attitudes of Puerto Ricans on the island toward their own vernacular speech, the present research focused on the subjective reactions of 104 public high school teachers and students to spoken speech styles. The subjects' task was to: listen to a prerecorded tape, rate the voices on the tape, and assign a possible occupation to each speaker. The responses were analyzed using a matched-guise technique and semantic differential questionnaire. Findings revealed uniform attitudes toward Spanish speech styles, perceptions of speech styles of higher and lower prestige, and accurate assignment of higher prestige occupation to speech styles closer to standard speech and lower prestige occupations to substandard speakers. The subjects perceived the stylistic distance, or range of variation, to be narrower for lower class than for higher class speech, and showed awareness of the primary speech style dichotomy as urban vs. rural. Subjects disavowed certain styles in their own speech, and condemned the use of slang, responding more favorably to a controlled speech style closer to standard usage. (MSE)

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PUERTO RICAN SPANISH: ATTITUDES

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ABSTRACT

This report represents a small section of a major sociolinguistic study designed to investigate the attitudes and opinions that the Puerto Ricans on the island hold toward their own use of their vernacular Spanish. While other sections of the study focused on the subjects' (Ss) objective knowledge about their language and languages in general, this section focused on the Ss subjective reactions to spoken speech styles. The Ss of the study were 104 teachers and students from three public high schools in Puerto Rico, divided into four equal cells of 24 Ss each.

The study revealed that the Ss held a uniform set of attitudes toward Spanish speech styles. In addition, they perceived speech styles of higher and lower prestige and could accurately assign the occupation of higher prestige to the speech styles closer to standard speech. Similarly, the occupations of lower prestige were assigned to substandard speakers. (Sociolinguistics, language attitudes, social class, Spanish dialectology, Puerto Rican Spanish)

0.0 INTRODUCTION

Attitudes have been variously defined (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970:63).

However, in this study, attitudes are defined as

predispositions to react to certain persons, objects, situations, ideas, etc. in a particular manner--not always consciously held (as are beliefs) nor readily verbalized (as are opinions). They are characterized as either affective or valiative (Thesaurus of ERIC Descriptors 1982).

The theory underlying this part of the research on attitudes toward Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS) is that of Lambert and others (1960 :146) who

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state that "there is a uniform set of attitudes toward language which [is] shared by almost all members of the speech community." Social conditions inculcate this attitudes in early childhood and education later reinforces them, causing attitudes to endure in both the people and the locale. The attitudes expected to emerge in this study have a basis on a long history of published studies whose statements mainly downgrade PRS and on an educational system which perpetuates those statements. Those studies are mainly comparative, dealing with linguistic variation derived from subjective impressions and value judgments rather than from objective observations. Furthermore, the pedagogy derived from those studies and applied to Spanish instruction succeeds in making students lose pride in their language because it fails to impart an evaluative set for judging standard language from nonstandard.

Attitude studies, such as this one, are ex post facto, empirical studies which aim at investigating and quantifying the social and psychological aspects of language. With that aim, researchers of attitude studies (a branch of sociolinguistics) have conducted from the 1960s on a number of attitude studies with a strong orientation in their manner of conduct and method of data analysis toward those of the social sciences. Two questions currently investigated in attitude studies are:

- (1) whether or not stereotyped attitudes affect listeners' judgments in a specific speech rating situation, and if so, how?; and (2) the dimensionality of subjective judgments (Agheyisi 1975 :114).

The research reported here focuses more closely on the dimensionality of subjective judgments, while most of the published works on PRS have dealt with the Spanish language contact with English and interlanguage borrowing, where Spanish is seen as the dependent language. Authors elsewhere have argued for the more productive study of speakers' attitudes toward their language (Hoeningwald 1964, Halliday 1968, Fishman 1971, and Hymes 1972). This

study, therefore, departs from the established, traditional dialectal research on PRS to focus on subjective attitudes rather than on the observable surface language phenomena attributed to language contact. The study is, therefore, a contribution to attitude studies in general and particularly to such studies on PRS which investigate and quantify the social and psychological aspects of language use in Puerto Rico (i.e. Pérez Sala 1973, Milán 1974, Betancourt, F. 1976, Betancourt, M. 1978, and Gillespie Pérez 1980).

The published literature on PRS, from the 1900s to the present stereotypes the language as inferior (Betancourt 1985). Given that lengthy historical downgrading of the language, the investigator expected, as do Lambert and others (1960 :146) in their study, that the Ss of this study would show a uniform set of subjective attitudes toward the speech styles of varying socioeconomic classes of Puerto Rico and abroad. These attitudes would affect the dimensions of the Ss' subjective judgement of speech styles on the island. Though the investigator assumed that the Ss would perceive speech differentially, he wanted to know the prestige rank accorded to each speech style. In addition, the investigator wanted to find out if the Ss correlated sociolinguistically speech prestige with occupational prestige.

0.1 Review of the related literature. After the initial work of Lambert and his associates (1960) at McGill University, researchers have variously refined attitude studies in both orientation and methodology in subsequent investigations. For example, Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) present a methodological and topical review of attitude studies. Both Shuy and Fasold (1973) and Fishman and Cooper (1974) present a compendia of this type of research. Fishman and Cooper (1974) report that "attitude has served as a variable in many sociolinguistic studies," for example, as a catalyst for a sound change (Labov 1963), as a defining characteristic of a speech community (Labov 1966), as a predictor for second language achievement

(Anisfeld & Lambert 1961 ; Lambert, Gardner, Olton, & Tunstall 1968), as a variable reflecting interethnic attitudes (Herman 1961 ; Lambert, Anisfeld, & Yeni-Komshian 1965), and also as a determinant of teachers' perceptions of their pupils' abilities (Seligman, Tucker, & Lambert 1972).

The essential research questions in this research, extracted from the unanswered questions in the published literature on PRS, most of which stereotypes PRS as inferior and as a dying language, focused on the subjective attitudes the Ss held toward the various local and nonlocal Spanish speech styles. A second research question of the study focused on the social importance that the Ss attributed to speech. In essence, this part on subjective attitudes correlates with the study of objective opinions.

0.2 Definition of "style". Based on the previous attitude research cited in the Review of the related literature, the investigator assumed in this study the polystilism of PRS, although according to the review of the published statements about PRS, the language is dying and should be, therefore, monostylistic. Polystylism is the speakers' communicative competence in shifting their manner of speech to address appropriately a child, a superior, a member of the opposite gender, and so on. The main focus of the study, however, was on the attitudes toward speech styles rather than on styles per se. The argument is then that if the Puerto Rican Ss can no longer detect speech nuances (styles) in spoken Spanish, as stated in the published literature on PRS, then PRS is a dying language.

Language, as a second assumption in this study, exists as a continuum of styles, from an abstract extreme termed standard to another abstract extreme termed substandard. The continuum is not marked by clear, natural breaks between them, though the two extremes may be ultimately mutually unintelligible. From within that speech continuum, linguists extract such concepts as standard, nonstandard, slang, and so on. The styles selected for

the Ss to react to in this study were the formal (reading), the informal (narrative), and slang as spoken by representative members of different social classes. The object in the selection of the speech styles was to present a continuum of styles from the least formal to the most formal for the Ss to react to. The reason for using different social class speakers was that speakers can be placed along a continuum of speech-style prestige, with the users of standard language having the higher social prestige. People in Puerto Rico, however, may hear speakers of varying Spanish standards, such as Castilian Spanish and the universal Latin American standard. Below the prestige rank of the standard language, other speech styles of lesser prestige complete the speech continuum, such as those styles that mark the urban vs. rural speakers.

In social dialectology, styles are defined in reference to the context in which a style is used. Wolfram and Fasold (1974 :84) state that

the essential dimension of stylistic variation in social dialectology relates to the amount of attention that is paid to speech--the more attention paid, the more formal the style. Formal styles are defined as those situations within an interview where speech is in primary focus, whereas the informal styles are defined in terms of those contexts where there is the least amount of audio-monitoring of speech.

Sociolinguistically, style is "normally used to refer to the co-occurrent changes at various levels of linguistic structure" (Ervin-Tripp 1972: 235). Style is defined in this research in that sociolinguistic sense rather than in its literary sense, to mean that within one language co-occurrent language shifts occur at various levels of linguistic structure. The definition presupposes polystylisticism in language rather than monostylism.

0.2.1 Formal Style. The polite (formal) style appears in the context of serious, public ceremonial occasions which minimize the speaker's personal relationships or solidarity with the audience. Ervin-Tripp (1972:235) says that "it is not clear whether it is the lexicon or the topic that is at issue

in the polite (formal) style because there are no examples of denotative synonyms realized through different vocabulary". However, Labov (1966, 1966b) suggests the availability of co-occurrence rules for both the grammatical morphemes and for phonology. This research, however, focused on the response to different speech styles rather than on the reaction to individual features of language which may mark those styles. In Puerto Rico, the formal style occurs in public appearances where the solidarity between the speaker and the audience is minimized. Formal speech is delivered in slower, sustained tempo and adheres closely to the standard language in lexicon and syntax.

0.2.2 Informal Style. The informal style resembles the vernacular and is defined in this study, within Labov's assumptions, in terms of the speaker's switches. In other words, a speaker would use a more formal style during an interview situation, such as questioning, than in other speech episodes. Labov found that when "channel cues," such as change in tempo, pitch, range, volume, or rate of breathing, indicated a change to casual or spontaneous speech within the speech episode the phonologic features changed, bringing speech closer to the vernacular. In Puerto Rico, the informal style is used in solidarity situations with the interlocutor, where the focus of speech is on the audience rather than on the message, for the purpose of persuasion, for example. However, a speaker may begin formally and switch to the informal style. In the informal style, the tempo is faster than in the standard and the lexicon and syntax are looser than in the standard.

0.2.3 Slang. As used in this research, slang is viewed not so much as a style but as a shift marker toward the informal style. In the style called slang, the linguistic alternates are primarily lexical. Predictably, then, selection rules for slang should restrict it to addressees with whom the speaker claims a solidary relation. In Puerto Rico, slang focuses on effect rather than on the audience or on the message. For example, the following

episode may occur between two family members greeting each other.

-- ¿Cómo estás? 'How are you?

-- Como pa' coger sin sogá. 'Dead in my tracks' =

'As to be caught without rope.'

The episode has turned a ritual greeting into a humorous episode through the pun on the two como's cómo 'how' and como 'as to' and the semantic transfer of meaning from words of one field of endeavor to another, from cattle roping to ritual greetings. The pa' & para signals the vernacular, while the terse pa' coger sin sogá implies that the speaker has been worked or pushed like a beast, that if at that moment he were to be caught to put to work, roping would be unnecessary for he is already dead in his tracks.

In slang, the user usually borrows accurately the lexicon of one field of endeavor, such as cattle roping above, (Context 1), and effectively applies it to a different field of endeavor, such as a ritual greeting, (Context 2). Therefore, the speaker must claim solidarity with the interlocutor in order to use slang and know through presupposition that the interlocutor knows both the field of endeavor from which the lexical item is borrowed and the present context to which it is applied. The user of slang must know both context 1 and context 2. The use of slang requires both the sharing of a grammar and sharing of rules of language use. Both of which mark the speaker as being sociolinguistically competent to know when to speak formally, informally, or use slang.

Differing from the formal or informal styles in language, slang has distinct sociolinguistic levels. It may be erudite and witty or gross and commonplace. The slang expression chosen for this study, [mah Rahao kyun peRo] 'drunk as a skunk' = 'drunker than a dog' is an example of commonplace, witless slang.

1.0 METHODS

1.1 Subjects. The 104 Ss of this study, randomly chosen from teachers and students from 3 urban, public high schools of Puerto Rico, were divided into a parallel sample of 4 cells, equally divided into groups of 26 teachers and students, males and females. The sample excluded the Neorican subgroup (the name given to Puerto Ricans reared in the States whether they were born there or not), because their lives in a bilingual community would have introduced different variables of language awareness and different stereotyped attitudes toward language, distinct from those shared by the other Ss.

1.2 Materials and Procedures. The materials for this study were a recorded test tape and a questionnaire on which the Ss rated the speakers on the test tape. While the test tape was constructed following a matched-guise technique, the questionnaire was constructed on the semantic differential technique, as explained below.

1.2.1 The Matched-Guise Technique. The matched-guise technique (M-GT), devised by Wallace E. Lambert and his associates (1960) at McGill University, is designed to probe the more subtle and personal reactions (or attitudes) of the Ss toward a certain language or language variety. In keeping with the principles of the M-GT, the investigator presented on the test tape two speech segments from the same speaker, each spoken in a different speech style. The speakers spoke in their controlled (reading) style and then in their free unmonitored style. The Ss, however, were not made aware of the speaker's two disguises and, thus, evaluated each guise as if each were from different speakers.

The samples of controlled style were elicited through the use of three paragraphs on varying topics. Each speaker chose to read aloud the paragraph of his liking, from one which discussed the character of Puerto Ricans from different parts of the island (inland as opposed to coast), or

from a second which told a joke, or from a third which related a case of accidental death. That is, the content of the paragraphs varied from the character of the Puerto Rican people, to humor, to death encountered by chance.

In writing the paragraphs, the investigator controlled possible syntactic and lexical variations which would mark the speaker's educational level, so that the Ss would respond to accent and the use or nonuse of the linguistic variables of PRS. Giles (1975) distinguishes between the perception of dialect (variation from the standard code at most linguistic levels) and accent (variation from the standard code at the phonologic level, i.e. pronunciation alone). Up to a certain point, if the accent were heavily marked as to the place of origin of the speaker, the Ss would have responded only in awareness of the linguistic variables.

The reading stimulus sentences were excised from the recordings of the reading of the paragraphs, while the free style speech segments were excised from the speakers' recorded discussions of the content of the paragraph each had read. The reading stimulus sentences were included in the test tape because in reading, the lexicon and the syntax are controlled but not the individual accent of the speaker. Therefore, both the free and controlled sample in the test tape had similar content. Both speech samples were randomized on the test tape. The prerecorded test tape contained 17 voice samples, each of about a second's length. Results of attitude research have shown that Ss can accurately (with over 70% accuracy) judge race and social class from 5- to 7-second sentences (Wolfram & Fasold 1974 :7). A stimulus segment of a second's duration proved satisfactory in this study because the Ss were native speakers of Spanish and were rating mainly their vernacular.

Because the guised voices were on tape, in the absence of situational context, manner of dress, or demeanor, the Ss rated the taped voices without

visual clues, on speech style alone. That is, the stimulus tapes presented language style alone for evaluation. Thus, the basis of Ss' evaluations stemmed from the uniform stereotyped impressions that the Ss held toward certain speech styles in use on the island and abroad.

In summary, as Agheyisi and Fishman (1970 :146) say, the major principle which underlies the matched-guise technique is that

if there is adequate control of every other variable in the experimental situation—such as the voice quality of speaker, content of text, and most especially, personality of speaker—other than the actual language variety, that whatever evaluations are made of the speaker must be prompted mainly by the judge's general reaction to the speakers of that particular language, rather than by his reaction to the specific speaker in the experimental situation. And so, if there is any significant uniformity in the evaluation reactions of any group of judges, such reactions are said to represent the stereotyped impressions of that group toward the speakers of the particular language variety.

1.2.2 Guises on the Test Tape. The speakers on the test tape comprised three socioeconomic groups, as described in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Description of the guised speakers

Groups	Age	Occupation	SES	Guises
I	59	judge	UMC	2
Native	62	lawyer	UMC	2
Speakers	47	professor	UMC	3
II	52	truck dr.	LWC	2
Native	35	farm wrkr.	LWC	2
Speakers	62	shop owner	LMC	2
III	39	professor	UMC	2
Other His-	22	student	LMC	1
panos	?	lab. tape	?	1

The first group of 3 speakers were upper class Puerto Ricans whose voices were guised for controlled and free speech. The three speakers were a 59-year-old judge of the superior court, a 62-year-old lawyer, and a 47-year-old linguistic professor. The linguistic professor spoke in 3 guises, for a total of 7 voices.

The second group of 3 speakers were middle and working class Puerto Rican whose voices were disguised, as were those of the speakers of the first group, for controlled and free-style speech, for a total of 6 voices. The speakers were a 52-year-old truck driver, a 35-year-old farm worker, and a 62-year-old jewelry (shop) store owner.

The third group of speakers were 3 other Hispanos, non-native Puerto Ricans, but native speakers of Latin American Spanish, of middle and upper-class status. One speaker of this group was a 39-year-old linguistic professor, who did the jibaro guise 'white mountaineer dweller', for one voice sample, as well as the demagogue guise. The third voice was the standard Latin American style reproduced from one of the laboratory tape programs (advanced level) which accompanied a leading Spanish textbook used in colleges in the United States. This group of speakers provided 4 voices of the 17 total used in this research.

1.2.3 The semantic differential technique. The second technique used in the study was the semantic differential technique (SD), whose theory was formulated by Osgood and his associates (1967). The SD, as used in psychology, is widely known and widely used to measure connotative meaning (affective or emotional) of concepts (psychological perceptions). The SD is a word-based research tool termed semantic because it has to do with connotative meaning and differential because the Ss responding to it differentiate words or concepts according to how the Ss agree with one or the other bipolar adjectives which form the scales of the SD. A scale in the SD has the form illustrated below.

Simpático ----- Antipático

The difference between dictionary meanings and meanings in the SD is that dictionaries normally list the denotative meaning of words and users normally agree on denotations. When consensus as to meaning is lacking, users can

refer to a dictionary and arrive at a consensus with the dictionary as authority. Connotative meaning, on the other hand, is not arrived at that simply or referentially because connotative meaning is affective. For example, the word jibaro in Puerto Rico denotes referentially the white mountaineers of the island. Connotatively, however, the word means "rustic," "poor," "uncoouth," "uneducated," "socially gauche," and so on.

1.2.4 Dimensions of Affective Meaning. In keeping with the theory that informs the SD, the investigator assumed that if a speech style was rated affectively high on one scale of the SD, it would probably be rated correlationally high in another scale of the SD. Because of this correlational effect between the scales, Osgood and his associates were able to reduce the scales through factor analysis to three dimensions or summary types. That is, the meaning of a wide variety of terms clusters around the three main factors or dimensions of affective meaning termed evaluation, potency, and activity.

The evaluation factor which is the one more closely related to attitude studies, such as this, is measured with three scales formed by antonymous adjectives. Each of these three dimensions listed above is theoretically independent from the other. For example, any speech style in this study may be rated positively on the "simpático" scale. However, the Ss may indicate in another scale an unwillingness to interact socially with the speaker, a negative response. Thus, any combinations of evaluation, activity, or potency rating are possible.

In intercultural studies, the Ss' reaction to the SD cluster around the same three criteria represented by the three dimensions, regardless of the Ss' country of origin. This universality of the SD rests upon the implicit tripartite criteria all humans seem to use. The Ss' reactions to the speech styles rated can be assumed to be static, uniform, and consistent while the SD

itself is culture free (universal), tridimensional, and correlational.

1.3 The questionnaire. The semantic differential technique and the M-GT were conjoined in the construction of the questionnaire used in the study. For the conjoined questionnaire, the researcher constructed the SD with 5 antonymous adjectives (intelligent, ambitious, learned, macho, and simpático) which met the researcher's purpose of assessing the Ss' affective reactions to the speech styles on the test tape. In addition to the 5 adjectives, the questionnaire included 4 sociolinguistic questions to be answered according to the Ss' reactions to the taped voiced: a) Would you become friends with this speaker?, b) Does he speak like someone in your family? c) Would his manner of speech be advantageous to him in his social life? and d) Would his manner of speech be advantageous to you in your social life?

Each voice sample on the test tape was repeated twice sequentially and separated from other voice segments by 30 seconds of silence. During the 30 seconds of tape silence, the Ss rated the voice sample they heard on the test tape and assigned a probable occupation to the taped speaker. In general, the evaluation of the voices took between 4 and 5 minutes, depending on the length of the discussion of the two practice exercises which preceded the actual testing.

1.4 The occupational prestige scale. Earlier in the study, the Ss were asked to rank an unordered list of island occupations according to their local, social prestige. Because Puerto Rico does not have a ready-made occupational prestige scale, the researcher asked the Ss to rank 11 unordered occupations. In this sense, the prestige scale presented in this research is not a validated prestige scale and as such it is serviceable only for the target population of this study.

The occupational prestige scale the Ss had made was later used to measure the occupational social prestige that the Ss accorded each guised speaker.

Although 3 female teachers objected to ranking the occupations because "no one occupation is more prestigious than any other because occupations are interdependent," all the other Ss made the occupational prestige scale with a surprising degree of ranking agreement ($\chi^2 = .65$, $df=3$, $p < .05$), as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Occupational prestige scale

	Teachers		Students		Rank
	M	F	M	F	
Medical Doctors	2.4	2.6	1.7	1.5	1
Lawyers	2.0	2.1	2.5	2.2	2
Professors	3.7	2.2	3.0	2/8	3
Priests	5.3	5.2	4.3	4.5	4
Teachers	4.7	4.6	4.7	4.9	5
Bank Clerks	5.8	5.9	6.2	5.9	6
TV Commentators	6.1	4.5	6.0	6.5	7
Mechanics	8.1	8.1	8.1	8.0	8
Publico drivers	10.8	9.6	8.96	9.4	9
Workers	9.0	8.6	9.9	10.1	10
Janitors	8.3	10.3	10.5	10.2	11

$$(\chi^2 = .65, df = 3, p < .05)$$

The dual social emphases of the Puerto Rican community forced the researcher to decide which eleven occupations to present for ranking. On one side, the emphasis is on agriculture and Hispanic traditions and, on the other, on the newly emerging industrialization. In view of these two emphases, the study would have required two representative scales, one for each emphasis, although these two do interact. The researcher decided to include only eleven urban occupations for the Ss to rank in order of prestige. The selection of the 11 occupations was based on on the eleven or twelve broad categories into which the United States Census Bureau (1980) condenses tens of thousands of occupations. To adapt the census categories to Puerto Rico, the investigator selected three occupations each from the high, the middle, and low categories, all of which were available in the study site. In

addition, the investigator added two ambiguous categories (bank clerk and TV commentator) for a total of 11 occupations to be ranked. But the Ss rated the guises on a 12-rung scale. The 12th category, "none of these," was added as a formal rung rather than just a residual in order to compensate for the town-biased (industrial) scale.

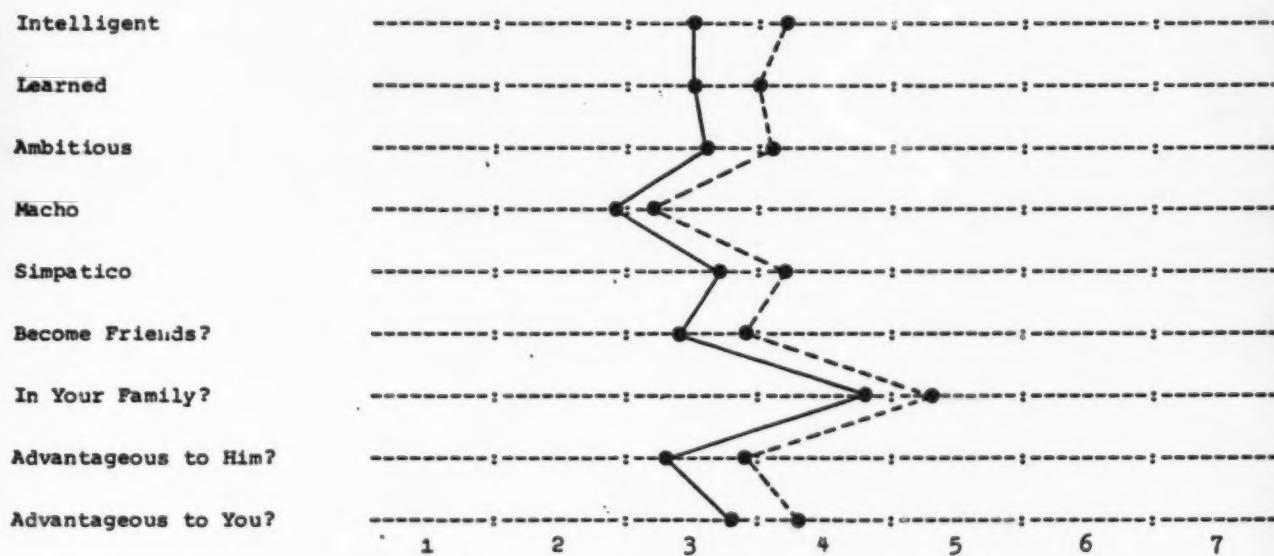
In summary, the Ss' task in this study was threefold: they listened to a prerecorded tape, rated the voices on the tape, and assigned a possible occupation to each speaker.

2.0 RESULTS

2.1 Findings. In attitude studies, such as the one reported here, the language stimulus on the test tape is the independent variable while the attitude toward the guise or style is the dependent variable. In discussing the results of the study, the author will present a "profile" for each guised speaker. Although the study included 8 speakers (for a total of 17 guises), only the profiles of two guised speakers will be discussed at length. The other 6 guises appear in Appendix A. The profile represents the Ss' affective reactions to each guised speaker, indicating their perception of dialect differences in the taped voices and the Ss' social evaluation of these differences. The quantification of the Ss' affective evaluation of styles serves as the basis for the existence of social dialects in Puerto Rico, elicited as subjective reactions from the Ss to the distinct speech varieties recorded on tape.

2.1.1 The lawyer's guises and attitude measurements. As shown in Profile 1, the Ss' task was to rate the speaker on 5 adjectives and to answer 4 sociolinguistic questions. In the Profile, the questions have been shortened and the adjectives reduced to the positive pole for reporting ease. In addition, the Ss assigned a probable occupation to each guised speaker.

Profile 1. The lawyer's two guises and attitude measurements



Guise	Occupation	Rank	$\chi^2 =$
Controlled Style	Teacher	5	9.8, df=3, $p < .05$
Free Style	Worker	10	8.2, df=3, $p < .05$

The poles of the 5 adjectives on the profile appeared randomly staggered on the questionnaire so that the favorable (positive) pole and the unfavorable (negative) pole never appeared at the same end (right or left) of the scales or alternated consistently. The random staggering of the poles prevented pattern formations in the Ss' answers and forced the Ss to rate each scale independently. Therefore, the complete SD is subject to the interaction between the concept-scales (adjectives and questions) and is not, therefore, a standardized test (Darnell 1966).

In this type of study, the Ss reveal the direction of their subjective reactions by the consistency with which they mark their reaction nearer either pole of the scale. Each scale in the SD has seven spaces, marked from 1 (high) to 7 (low). Point 4 on each scale represents a neutral judgment. That is, a judge who rates a concept at point 4 of the scale expresses no opinion in one direction or the other—however difficult it would be to believe anyone to be completely neutral about language issues.

Immediately apparent in the lawyer's Profile is that the two guises were evaluated equally but at different points on the scales, as shown by the parallelism of the lines descending through the scales. The fact that the descending lines in the profiles do not touch or cross is not a statistical aberration, but an indication that the Ss perceived each style of the same speaker distinctively. However, as it happened with lower class speakers in this study, the lines of the profiles do cross (see Appendix A). Thus, the Ss consistently evaluated the lawyer's controlled guise closer to the positive end of the scales on the five affective adjectives and the four social questions than they did the free style. On the five affective adjectives, the Ss judged the speaker of the controlled guise as being more intelligent ($\bar{X}=3.4$) than in the free guise ($\bar{X}=4.2$). The controlled guise was rated as being that of a more learned person ($\bar{X}=3.5$) than that of the free guise

($\bar{X}=4.9$). The controlled guise was rated higher in ambition ($\bar{X}=3.6$) than was the free guise ($\bar{X}=4.1$). Furthermore, the Ss evaluated the monitored guise as being more macho ($\bar{X}=2.9$) than the free guise ($\bar{X}=3.2$). In the study, the adjective macho was antonymous to effeminate and in that sense did not refer to the machismo spoken of in Hispanic culture texts. The Ss rated the lawyer's monitored style as very simpático ($\bar{X}=3.7$), higher than the free style ($\bar{X}=4.2$).

In summary, the Ss were affectively more affirmative toward the controlled guise than toward the free guise.

In response to the four sociolinguistic questions, the Ss stated that they would become friends with the speaker of the controlled guise ($\bar{X}=3.4$). That is, the Ss expressed a readiness to interact socially with the speaker (cf. Fishbein 1967). At the same time, they indicated that they were slightly less ready to interact socially with the speaker of the free guise ($\bar{X}=3.9$).

In answer to the question whether the speakers spoke like the members of the Ss' families, the Ss disclaimed that their families spoke like the speaker of the controlled guise ($\bar{X}=4.8$). But they disclaimed much more strongly the free guise ($\bar{X}=5.3$).

In answer to the two sociolinguistic questions on the advantages of speaking well, the Ss stated that the lawyer's monitored style would be advantageous to him ($\bar{X}=3.3$), more advantageous than his free style ($\bar{X}=3.9$). They also rated the monitored style as being advantageous to the Ss personally ($\bar{X}=3.8$), but stated that the free style would be disadvantageous to them personally ($\bar{X}=4.3$). The Ss established, therefore, that speaking well is socially advantageous.

After evaluating the guises on the SD scales, the Ss assigned the occupation of worker to the free style (ranked 10th in the occupational prestige scale) but assigned the occupation of teacher to the monitored style

(ranked 5th), a difference of 5 ranks in the occupational prestige scale. The comparative occupations assigned to the other guises in the study appear in Appendix B.

In comparing the ratings obtained by the lawyer's two guises with all other 17 guises, the following rankings obtain (Table 2):

Table 2. Comparative ranks of the lawyer's two guises
(Ranks presented in parentheses)

Questions	Guises	
	Controlled	Free
Become friends?	3.3 (5)	3.8 (7.5)
In your family?	3.9 (2)	5.3 (7)
Adv. to him?	3.3 (3)	3.9 (7)
Adv. to you?	3.8 (3.5)	4.3 (7)

A comparison of the rankings in the social questions showed that making friends with the speaker of the monitored style ranked 5th among all other 17 styles, the free style ranked 7th (rank of 7.5), a difference of 2 ranks. The Ss claimed that from within the 17 styles presented the lawyer's controlled guise was the second most often used in the Ss' families, while the free style ranked 7th as the style most often used in the Ss' families, a difference of 5 ranks.

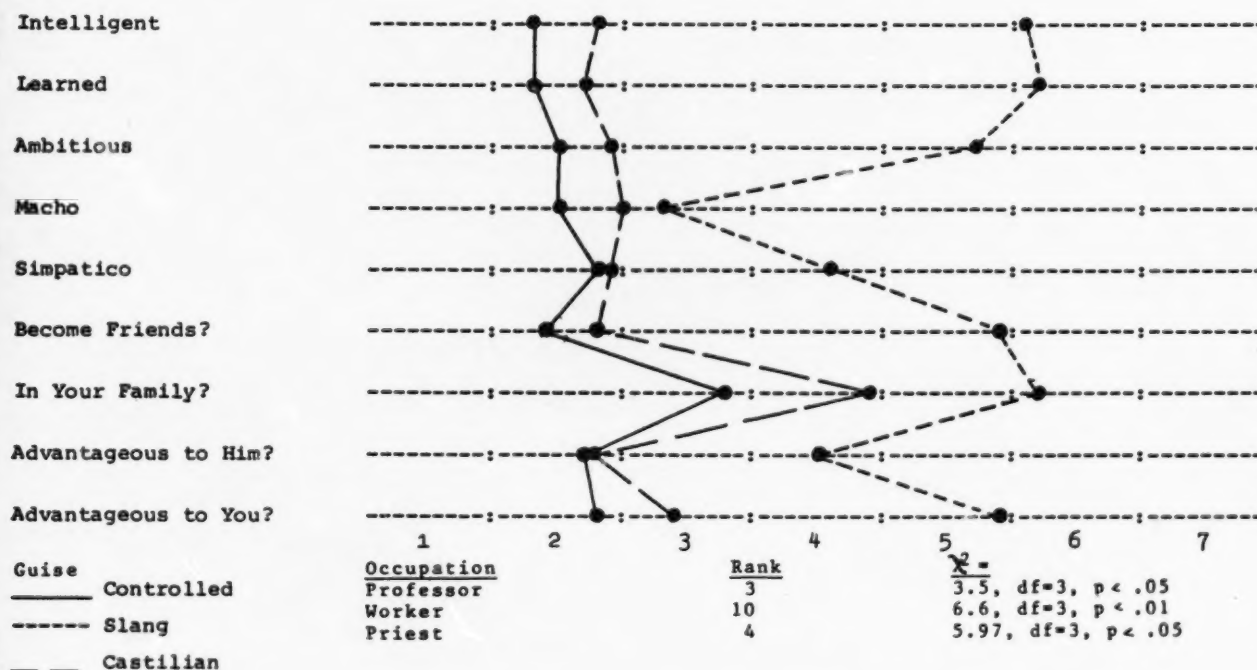
While the monitored style was ranked third in social advantage to the speaker personally, from among the other 17 styles, the free style was ranked 7th in social advantage to the speaker, a difference of 4 ranks. On the other hand, the monitored style ranked third ($\bar{x}=3.8$) from among the other 17 in being personally advantageous to the raters, while the free style ranked 7th, a difference of four ranks. Interestingly, the free style was consistently ranked 7th in all traits and questions, but the rankings of the monitored

style showed the Ss' sociolinguistic ambivalence of identification with standard styles. For example, the female students tended to rate the speaker higher in all traits and question than did all of the other Ss thus producing a slight variance in the ratings of the lawyer's monitored style. Furthermore the female students disclaimed along with the female teachers that their family members used a style similar to that of the lawyer's free style. The female teachers rated the speaker lower in all traits and questions than did the other three groups. The empirical data showed no statistical significance in the ratings of the nine scales for the lawyer's two guises. Therefore, the results of the Chi-square test will be given for the total 9 question on each style rather than on the 9 questions individually. The data produced no significant variation among the groups either in the rating of the controlled style ($X = 9.8$, $df = 3$, $p = .05$) or in the ratings of the free style ($X = 8.2$, $df = 3$, $p = .05$). See Appendix C for other social comparative rankings.

In summary, the Ss rated consistently the lawyer's two guises, rating his free style lower than his controlled style. Interestingly, the Ss stated that the free style was like that of a demagogue and rated it very low.

2.1.2 The college professor's guises and attitude measurements. The linguistic professor (Profile 2) used slang as one guise and then spoke in two national speech standards: Latin American standard (LAS) which was unmarked by locale and Castilian Spanish (CS). The professor's three guises were randomized on the test tape, as the lawyer's were. Profile 2 below shows that both the LAS and the CS were rated almost equally high and close to the positive end of the scales, though at different points, as indicated by the parallelism of the vertical lines descending through the SD scales. On the other hand, the descending lines to the far right on the scales show that the evaluation of the slang style was significantly lower in evaluations.

Profile 2. The professor's three guises and attitude measurements



The ratings of the LAS and the CS will be presented comparatively: The solid line on the Profile shows the rating of the LAS style, the broken line the CS, and the projection line slang. The LAS style is rated equally high on intelligence and learning ($\bar{X}=2.3$). The CS, similarly, is rated high on intelligence ($\bar{X}=2.8$) and learning ($\bar{X}=2.7$). But the slang speaker was rated very low in intelligence ($\bar{X}=6.1$) and learning ($\bar{X}=6.2$). The LAS style is rated equally high on the ambitious and macho traits ($\bar{X}=2.5$), as the CS was rated also high on ambition ($\bar{X}=2.9$) and virility ($\bar{X}=3.0$). But the ratings of the slang speaker differed from both standards by being rated lower on ambition ($\bar{X}=5.7$) and on virility ($\bar{X}=3.4$). The slang speaker was rated high on virility but is not rated as virile as the standard speakers. Both standard guises are rated high on the simpático trait, ($\bar{X}=2.8$) for the LAS and ($\bar{X}=2.9$) for the CS. However, the slang speaker was rated lower on the simpático trait ($\bar{X}=4.6$) than were the standard guises.

In summary, both standard guises were rated affectively high, with the LAS speaker being rated higher than the CS speaker in all 5 traits. In this instance, the Ss expressed the more favorable attitude toward the LAS, in the affective adjectives. Slang, on the other hand, was rated affectively lower in all five traits than were the standard guises.

In the four sociolinguistic questions, the Ss stated that they would readily make friends with both the LAS speaker ($\bar{X}=2.4$) and with the CS speaker ($\bar{X}=2.8$). But they would more readily interact socially with the LAS speaker. However, the Ss stated that they would decidedly not interact socially with the slang speaker ($\bar{X}=5.9$). The Ss identified the speech of their families more closely with the LAS speaker ($\bar{X}=3.8$) but understandably lower with the CS speaker ($\bar{X}=4.9$). But they did not identify the speech of the slang speaker with members of their families ($\bar{X}=6.2$).

On the social advantage of speaking well, as represented in the LAS, the

Ss indicated that speaking the LAS is decidedly advantageous to the speaker ($\bar{X}=2.7$) and that speaking Castilian Spanish was an advantage to the speaker socially ($\bar{X}=2.6$). However, they stated that the use of slang would be decidedly disadvantageous to the speaker ($\bar{X}=4.5$).

In response to whether speaking the LAS, CS, or slang was socially advantageous to the Ss personally, the Ss responded that speaking the LAS would be decidedly advantageous ($\bar{X}=2.8$) to them, but that speaking CS would be slightly less advantageous ($\bar{X}=3.4$). Using slang, on the other hand, was rated decidedly disadvantageous to the Ss in their social lives ($\bar{X}=5.9$).

After evaluating the LAS, the CS, and slang on the 9 scales, the Ss assigned a probable occupation to each guise. The LAS guise was assigned the occupation of professor (ranked 3rd on the prestige scale), which he indeed was. The CS was stereotypically assigned the occupation of priest (ranked 4th). In the past, the Spanish priests were the speakers of Castilian Spanish on the island. Today, however, CS can be heard on TV, the schools and colleges, and in the business world, not in the speech of priests alone. The slang speaker, on the other hand, was assigned the occupation of worker (ranked 10th in the occupational prestige scale, not any higher than the occupation assigned to the demagogue. The occupation assigned to the slang speaker differed by 7 ranks from the occupation assigned to the LAS speaker (professor), and by 6 ranks from that assigned to the Castilian speaker (priest).

The data showed no statistical interaction between the students and the teachers in the rating of the LAS ($\chi^2 = 3.5$, $df = 3$, $p < .05$), the CS ($\chi^2 = 5.97$, $df = 3$, $p < .05$), or slang ($\chi^2 = 6.6$, $df = 3$, $p < .05$).

The attitude measurements of the LAS and CS guises revealed that from the 17 styles rated, these two standard styles accrued the highest attitude measurement, the LAS first and the CS second. In the composite ranking on the

four sociolinguistic questions (Table 3), the LAS ranked consistently first in all four sociolinguistic questions, out of the 17 styles presented for evaluation, while the CS ranked consistently second—except in its use in the raters' families, where it predictably ranked 6th. Slang, however, was ranked at the bottom of the prestige scale three times and with a rank of 14.5 once, on the prestige scale.

Table 3. Comparative ranks of the Professor's Guises
(Ranks presented in parentheses)

Questions	LAS	Guises	
		Castilian	Slang
Become friends?	2.4 (1)	2.8 (2)	5.9 (14.5)
In your family?	3.8 (1)	2.7 (6)	6.2 (17)
Adv. to him?	2.7 (1)	2.9 (2)	4.5 (16.5)
Adv. to you?	2.8 (1)	2.9 (2)	5.9 (17)

In summary, the ratings of the professor's 3 guises revealed a very uniform attitude from the raters toward the LAS, the CS, and slang. The LAS was consistently rated higher than the CS. Similarly, the professor's slang guise was uniformly downgraded by the judges, being the lowest rated from the 17 styles presented for rating.

3.0 CONCLUSIONS

By using the method of attitude studies, the author clarified in the social context of Puerto Rico some of the PRS language issues (a preferable term to "problems," according Shuy (1965), through the use of a conjoined questionnaire as the basic research tool. The conjoined questionnaire proved to be an effective research tool in that no instances of patterned responses occurred, which boredom could have induced. Boredom is inherent in the method when repeating a task (i.e. doing a 10-item evaluation 17 times). The

linguistic issue of this study was the Puerto Rican Ss' linguistic sensitivity to perceive distinctiveness in the speech styles of speakers from varying social classes and the continuity or discontinuity of PRS within the speech styles of the rest of the Hispanic world.

The Ss were given a continuum of speech styles ranging from standard speech (whether Castilian or Latin American) to substandard and then were asked to evaluate the speech styles affectively, to indicate if they would interact socially with the speakers on the test tape, and to assign a probable occupation to each speaker. In other words, the study focused on eliciting the Ss' attitudes toward the representative speech of speakers from various social classes.

The results indicated that the Ss perceived the stylistic distance of lower class speakers to be much narrower than the stylistic distance in the styles of upper class speakers. In that sense, the Ss perceived that speakers from the lower socioeconomic groups command a narrower variation range in their repertoire than do speakers from higher socioeconomic groups. But, however narrow the stylistic distance in the speakers' repertoire, because of audio-monitoring (reading), the Ss were able to perceive that repertoire distance.

Most noteworthy in the data of the study is the Ss' subjective awareness of upper and lower class speech styles and also the Ss' perception the major dichotomy in language use in Puerto Rico to be that of urban vs. rural speech, between jibaro and nonjibaro. Beyond that primary dichotomy, the Ss perceived the society as being basically tripartite in language usage and were able to assign differentially and accurately a possible occupation to each speech style presented in the stimulus tape. For each guise of the same speaker presented in the stimulus tape, the Ss consistently assigned the higher occupation to the controlled, monitored speech guise, that is, to the speech

style which was closer to the standard. In that sense, the raters were low speech evaluators but showed "sociolinguistic sensitivity" (Fishman 1971:57) toward differing Spanish styles, in the allocation of styles. From this allocations of speech styles arises the attitudes toward speech styles which the research addressed.

The Ss disavowed the use of certain styles personally and in their families. The speech style of the farm worker and that of the truck driver, both rural speakers, can be categorized as jíbaro. They both accrued a neutral attitude measurement, indicating that although the jíbaro style is made fun of and used for fun, a certain degree of deference is accorded to the jíbaro. The author expected to find a degree of deference to lower class speech: lower class speech is most closely identified with the jíbaro and his speech. However, sociologically, all society sectors estimate that the jíbaro embodies the island's virtues, although rated as lower class in the study. Because of this paradox, the investigator expected the Ss to recognize high styles of speech, perceive their value and allocation, but empathize ambiguously with lower class (jíbaro) speech, and they did. That is, the speech of few of the Ss was so far removed socially from the stereotyped jíbaro speech that they would condemn jíbaro speech.

The most noteworthy finding in the attitudes expressed by the Ss toward styles was the condemnation of the use of slang, which is not a style. The Ss perceived slang as lacking in prestige. In the attitude measurements of the styles, slang accrued an adverse rating; the only style to accrue that measurement. The style was not allocated, correctly, to any particular social class. The study revealed that the prestige styles in Puerto Rico exist in the following continuum: the Latin American standard which is unmarked by locale is first, followed closely in second place by Castilian Spanish. At the lower end of the continuum, is the demagogue style which ranks lower than

the style of the workers or the jíbaro style.

The style of the demagogue, though much affected at present in Puerto Rico in public ceremonials by emerging politicians and those pretending to be knowledgeable of public affairs, was rated very low. This emerging style is in use by small-town politicians and is marked by the use of the PRS linguistic variables, coupled with distinct suprasegmentals and the constant reiteration of terms. It is interesting that the Ss of this study downgraded a style which is acquiring prestige for use in public, ceremonial occasions. An explanation to the public emulation of this style may be found in the sociolinguistic interactionist approach to language. The concept of social network (Cf. Cumperz 1982) explains which cultural convention of language use has given status to the demagogue style. The notion of cultural convention maintains that shared patterns of language use conventionally reflect shared (or pretended) knowledge by those who interact (or pretend to), who bear social relationships (or pretend to), who share certain knowledge (or pretend to) of interpretations of how the world works. Social network explains how cultural conventions of language use are established, particularly in a new middle class, such as the one represented by the Ss of this study and why pretenders emulate.

Throughout the study, independent of other traits and questions, the Ss indicated that the style closer to the standard (controlled style) was more virile than a free style. Furthermore, the Ss responded more favorably socially to the controlled style closer to the standard. Giles, Baker, and Fielding (1974) report that a request for information couched in the standard dialect rather than in the regionally-marked dialect cajoles the listener into providing information requested. In other words, the standard dialect influences the listeners' behavior as well as their attitudes (Giles & Bourhis, 1975). Also, a new middle class, such as the one represented in this

study is sociolinguistically ambivalent. The Ss disclaimed association with both the high and low style of speech, though they claimed the higher but not the lower to be in use in their families. The same ambivalence is reflected in their answer to the question of interacting socially with the lower speech speaker. That is, the Ss recognized styles of greater and lesser prestige, but chose to identify themselves and their families more closely with the style of lesser prestige. In many instances, they showed insecurity in the formal styles, particularly the women Ss.

While the published literature on PRS has downgraded the language as inferior and the Ss of this study proved that both teachers and students react toward language issues in terms of the often repeated language cliches, this study revealed that the Ss' feelings toward their language far outdistance their knowledge about languages or about their language. While this lack of conscious knowledge about language has served as a basis to claim that PRS is a dying language, this attitude study revealed that the Ss were aware of speech style nuances and of the social prestige of each style. Therefore, PRS is far from being a dying language. If languages die, they die by reversing the process through which they were born (Dressler 1972). That is, languages are born monostylistically as pidgins, then acquire creolized styles and become full polystylistic languages. Conversely, dying languages lose their polystylism and die monostylistically.

The attitude measurements accrued by nonlocal Hispanic styles indicated that the language standard of any other Hispanic country is ranked no higher than any local style. The two national standard styles, Castilian Spanish and the Latin American standard, however, accrued higher measurements than did all other styles. Of these two styles, the higher rated is the Latin American standard rather than the European, Castilian.

This study revealed that the Ss were aware of the repertoire of speech

styles in use on the island and outside. They were also aware of the social prestige of each of those styles presented to them. However, in objective measures, the Ss lacked an evaluative set to judge language by. They can, however, express a uniform set of subjective attitudes toward language when these are indirectly accessed.

The study of attitudes toward PRS and the expressed opinions revealed that while the PRS literature downgrades the language, the teachers downgrade the students for their language "deficiencias." Yet, few studies on PRS focus on how Spanish serves the present Puerto Rican society and fewer yet focus on how the Spanish curriculum can better serve the students. In that sense, the Spanish curriculum and pedagogy serve badly a small elite of Hispanists, serves worse the current teachers as represented by those of this study, and serves worst the present student population. It appears that the teachers of this study hold attitudes toward Spanish speech styles that are no different from those of the students'.

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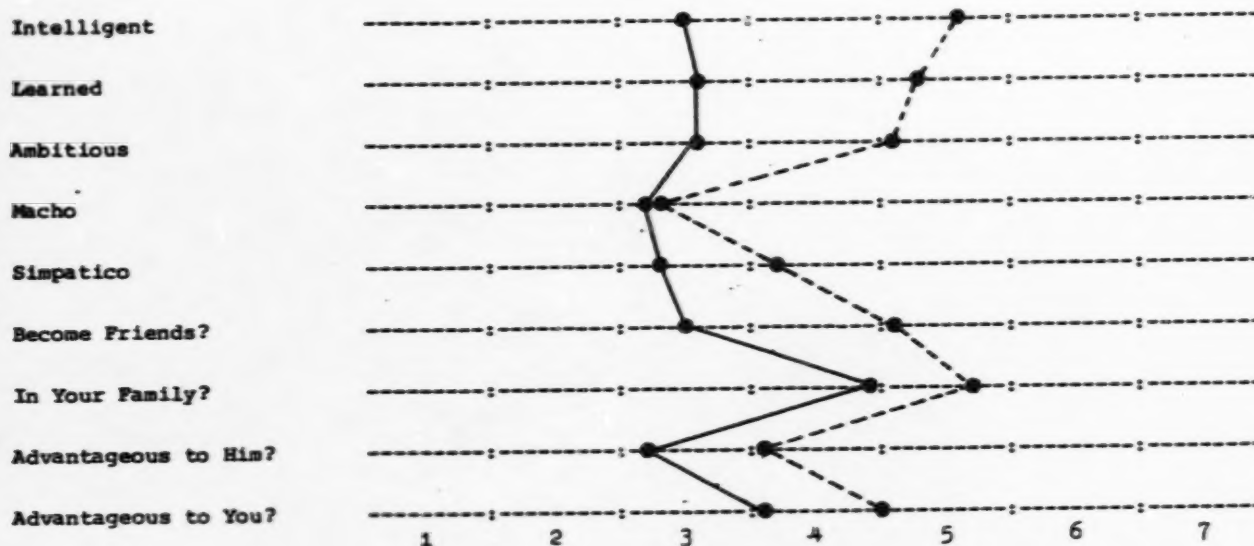
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APPENDIX A

PROFILES

Profile 3. The Shopkeeper's two guises and attitude measurements



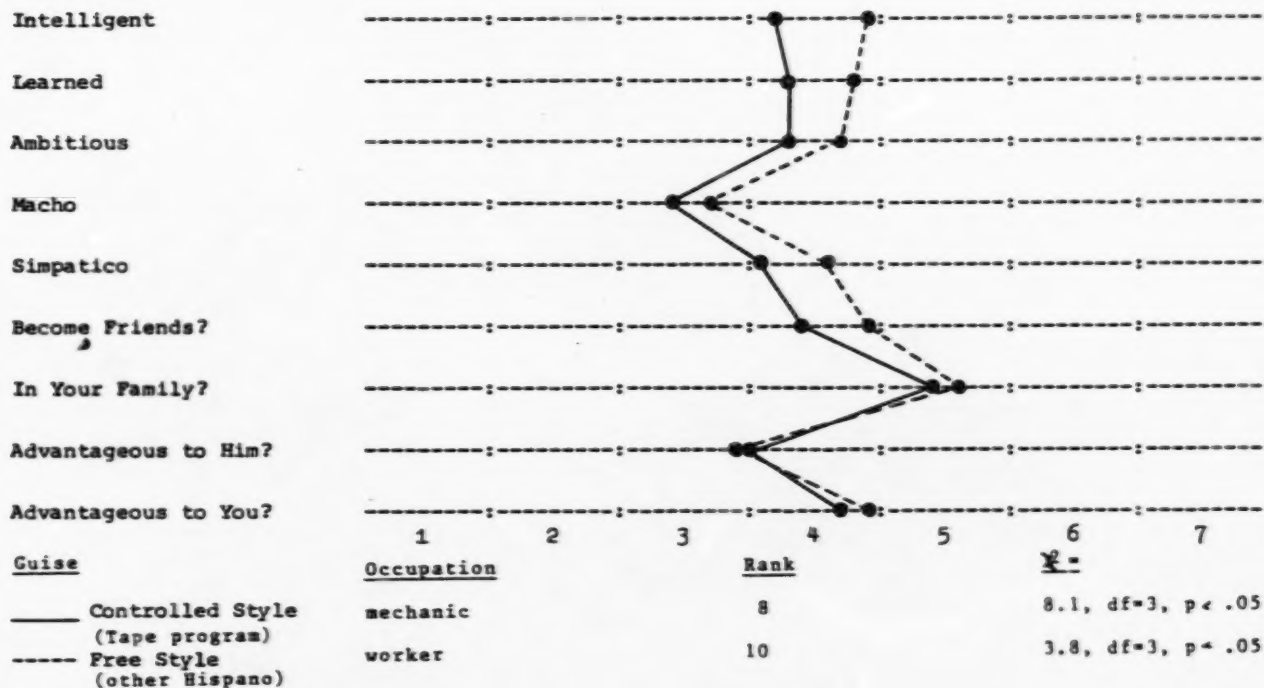
Guise
 _____ Controlled Style
 ----- Free Style

Occupation
 worker
 none of these

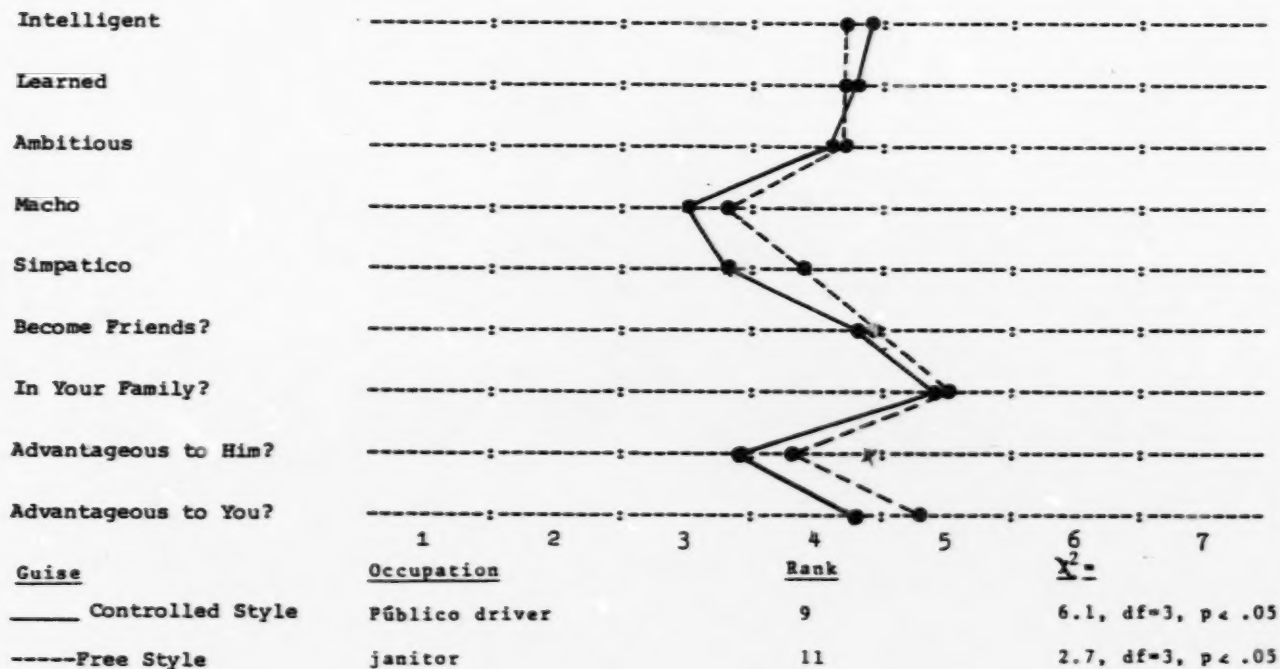
Rank
 10
 12

$\chi^2 =$
 9.5, df=3, $p < .05$
 .42, df=3, $p < .05$

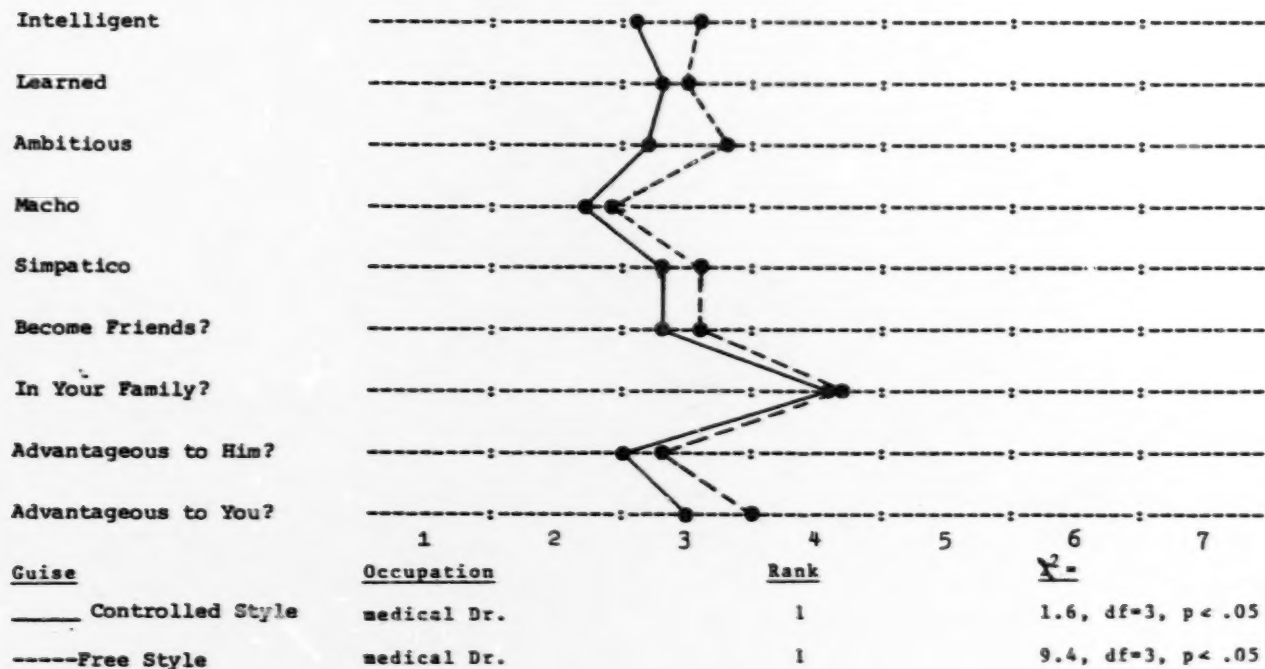
Profile 4. The guises of the other Hispanos and attitude measurements



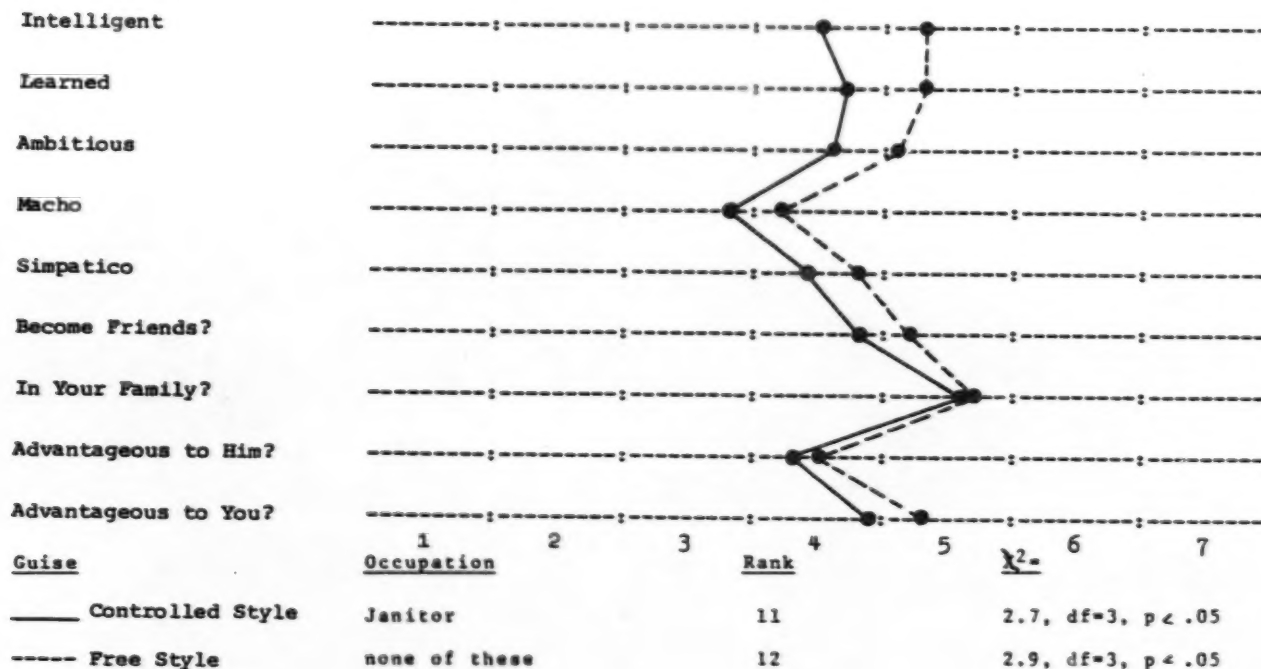
Profile 5. The truck driver's two guises and attitude measurements



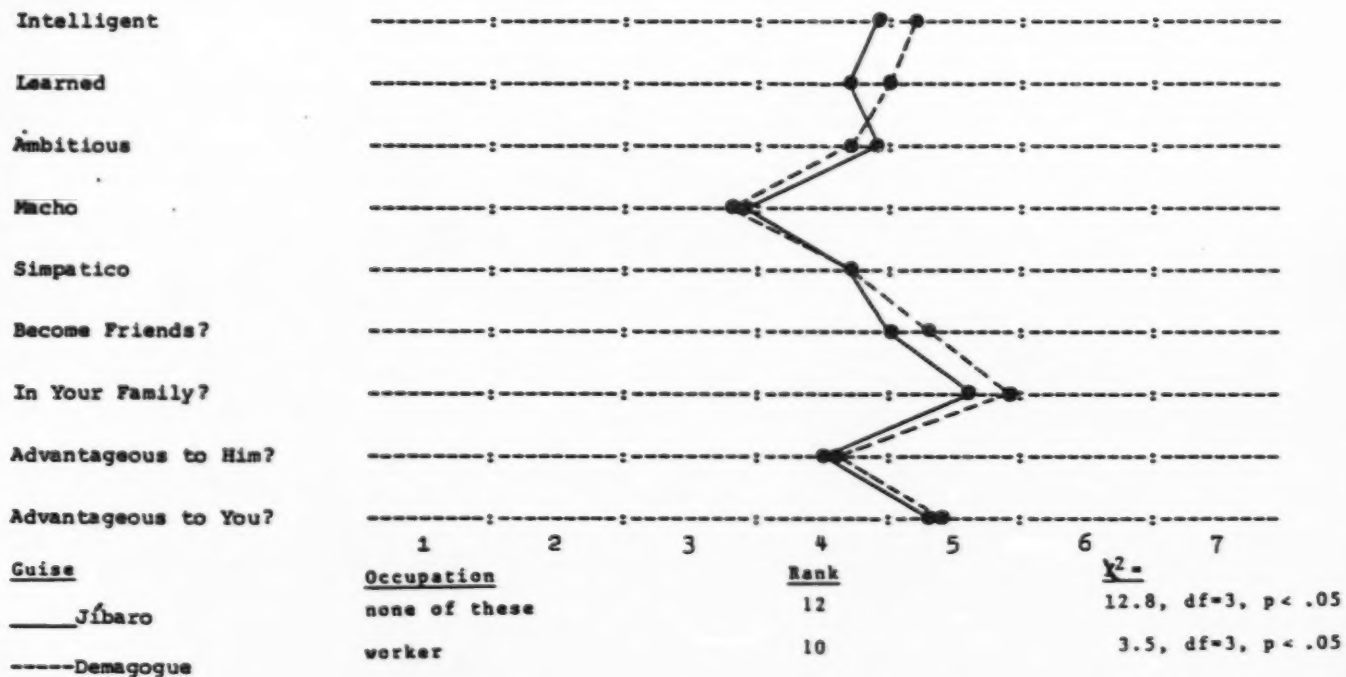
Profile 6. The judge's two guises and attitude measurements



Profile 7. The farm worker's two guises and attitude measurements



Profile 8. The demagogue and jibaro guises and their attitude measurements



Appendix B: Comparative Ranks of the Sociolinguistic Questions

(Ranks presented in parentheses)

SPEAKER	LAWYER		SHOP KEEPER		TRUCK DRIVER		JUDGE		FARMER		COLLEGE PROFESSOR			CHILEAN PROFESSOR		HISPANO	TAPE
	C	F	F	C	F	C	C	F	F	C	LAS	CAS-TILLAN	SLANG	JIBARO	DEMA-GOGUE		
Guise																	
In your family?	3.9 5.3		5.7 4.8		5.4 5.4		4.6 4.7		5.7 5.6		3.8	4.9	6.2	5.6	5.9	5.6	5.4
(Rank)	(2) (7)		(14.5) (5)		(8) (8)		(4) (3)		14.5 12		(1)	(6)	(17)	(12)	(16)	(12)	(8)
Adv. to him?	3.3 3.9		5.1 3.5		4.9 4.8		3.5 3.6		5.2 4.8		2.4	2.8	5.9	5.6	5.9	4.9	4.4
(Rank)	(3) (7)		(13) (4.5)		(11.5) (9.5)		(4.5) (6)		(14) (9.5)		(1)	(2)	(16.5)	(15)	(16.5)	(11.5)	(8)
Adv. to You?	3.8 4.3		5.0 4.1		5.3 4.8		3.8 4.0		5.3 4.97		2.8	3.4	5.9	5.3	5.4	4.99	4.7
(Rank)	(3.5) (7)		(12) (6)		(13) (9)		(3.5) (5)		(13) (10)		(1)	(2)	(17)	(13)	(16)	(11)	(8)
Make friends?	3.3 3.8		4.1 3.3		4.3 3.8		3.0 3.3		5.1 4.3		2.4	2.8	4.5	4.5	4.6	3.97	4.0
(Rank)	(5) (7.5)		(11) (5)		(12.5) (7.5)		(3) (5)		(17) (12.5)		(1)	(2)	(14.5)	(14.5)	(16)	(9)	(10)

C=Controlled style

F=Free style

OCCUPATION ASSIGNED TO EACH GUISE

Speaker	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
His Voice No.	1 14	2 13	3 9	4 10	5 17	6 15	7 11 12	8 16
Style	C F	F C	F C	C F	C F	F C	S C Cs	D J
Occupational Prestige Rank								
1. Medical Doctor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Lawyer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Professor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Priest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Teacher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Bank Clerk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. TV Commentator	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Mechanic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Chofer Público	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. Janitor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. None of These	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

C--controlled style; F--free style; S--slang; Cs--Castilian; J--jibaro; D--demagogue.